CHURCHILL

The Life of a Politician and Author from the Collection of John C. Walsh’54

Exhibition Prepared by Naomi Pasachoff

CHAPIN LIBRARY · WILLIAMS COLLEGE
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**Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill**
(1874–1965) today is often remembered only for his wartime role. As Prime Minister, his sonorous voice gave hope to the British in the dark early days of World War II, and his leadership skills helped the Allies achieve victory in that great struggle. The Churchill Collection in the Chapin Library, the core of which was the generous gift of John C. Walsh, Williams Class of 1954, provides a more complete view of the scope of its subject’s extraordinary life. The Library’s holdings illuminate his family background and the development of his career as a writer, which culminated in the 1953 Nobel Prize for Literature. They also trace his political career before 1939 as well as his postwar role as Leader of the Opposition.

This exhibition has been organized and written for the Chapin Library by Naomi Pasachoff, Research Associate at Williams College. All items are the gift to the Chapin Library by John C. Walsh ’54, or purchased with funds generously provided by Mr. Walsh, unless otherwise noted.

**Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965**

*In War Resolution*
“Moral” to *The Second World War*
Wood-engraving by Leo Wyatt (1909–1981)
No. 54 of 100 copies

*The Second World War*
Vol. 1 of six volumes

*My Early Life: A Roving Commission*
London: Thornton Butterworth, 1930

Churchill called the epigraph of his six-volume *The Second World War* (1948–1954) the “Moral of the Work”: it is highlighted in this introductory case as a wood-engraving by British artist Leo Wyatt (1908–1981). Other volumes of *The Second World War* are shown elsewhere in the exhibition.

An ivory portrait miniature of Churchill graces the Sangorski & Sutcliffe binding of this copy of Churchill’s autobiography, which covers his life up to 1906.

**Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965**

*Marlborough: His Life and Times*
London: George G. Harrap, 1933–1938
Trade edition
Vol. 4 of four volumes

*Lord Randolph Churchill*
London: Macmillan, 1906
Vol. 2 of two volumes

Churchill’s 1953 Nobel Prize for literature cited him not only as a historian but also as a biographer. For fascinating subjects he had no need to look further than his own family tree. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was the third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough. Churchill wrote a four-volume biography of the first Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill, hero of the early 18th-century wars against Louis XIV of France. A volume from the trade edition is shown; the Walsh collection also includes a set of the limited edition (155 copies).

Churchill’s first biographical subject, however, was his own father, Lord Randolph (1849–1895). Young Winston feared his politician father, who showed little affection for his elder son. To help organize the primary documents he needed to write his father’s political biography, Churchill hired a research assistant. The two-volume work has been called “the most important, substantial and reputation-enhancing of all his young man’s writings.” This copy is inscribed by the author to W.T. Cooke.
Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

Lord Randolph Churchill
London: Macmillan, 1906
Vol. 1 of two volumes

Madame de Witt, 1829–1908
Scènes d’histoire et de famille:
XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles
Paris: Société des Écoles du Dimanche, 1869

William Shakespeare, 1564–1616
Shakespeare’s Comedies
London: George Newnes, 1901

Although Churchill’s beautiful mother, Jennie Jerome (1854–1921), had little time for her young son, he adored her. Jerome, daughter of a New York financier and a socially ambitious mother, was educated in Paris. In the summer of 1869, fifteen-year-old Jennie was awarded this book by Madame de Witt (shown closed, at center) as a school prize.

The Jerome family had a summer home in Williamstown. According to local lore, purple is one of the Williams colors because of Jennie. As a spectator at a Williams-Harvard baseball game in 1869, she bought and pinned purple ribbons on the Williams athletes to distinguish them from their opponents.

In 1874 Jennie married Randolph Churchill at the British embassy in Paris. Married twice more after his death, she continued to travel in aristocratic circles. In 1912 she received a copy of Shakespeare’s comedies (shown at right) from Alexandra, mother of the reigning monarch, George V.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

The Story of the Malakand Field Force: An Episode of Frontier War
London: Longmans, Green, 1901

The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan
Edited by Col. F. Rhodes, D.S.O.
Illustrated by Angus McNeill, Seaforth Highlanders
London: Longmans, Green, 1899
Vol. 1 of two volumes

Autograph letter signed, to T.E. Hickman
August 8, 1899

After attending the Royal Military College at Sandhurst – he passed the entrance exam only on his third attempt, but did well in his studies – Churchill entered the 4th Hussars, a cavalry regiment. In 1897, when fighting broke out in northwestern India between British forces and Pashtun warriors, he joined the Malakand Field Force as both a soldier and a journalist. He later expanded his newspaper dispatches into The Story of the Malakand Field Force, which attracted wide attention. This copy belonged to John Morley, who was Secretary of State for India when Churchill autographed it in February 1908. By then Churchill had begun his career in Parliament.

In both The Story of the Malakand Field Force and the first edition of The River War Churchill let neither his youth nor his junior rank keep him from criticizing the British commander, Lord Kitchener. Beginning in 1896, Britain sent its army into the Sudan to forestall attempts by other nations to establish influence over the region. When a British force was assembled in Egypt for this purpose, Churchill managed to get transferred to it (again with a newspaper assignment), despite Kitchener’s attempt to prevent his participating.

As his letter to T.E. Hickman indicates, Churchill solicited critiques of his coverage of the Sudan operation before publication. Hickman was Assistant Adjutant-General on the Divisional Staff of the Dongola Expeditionary Force of 1896.
Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan
Edited by Col. F. Rhodes, D.S.O.
New and revised edition
London: Longmans, Green, 1902

Three years after the two-volume history of the Sudan war first appeared (see the adjoining case), Churchill prepared a one-volume second edition of The River War. It is notable not only for the new material he inserted, but also for what he omitted: approximately one-fourth of the original text that dealt with controversial matters, including his attacks on Kitchener. Having begun his parliamentary career, Churchill had become more cautious.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

London to Ladysmith Via Pretoria
London: Longmans, Green, 1900

Ian Hamilton’s March
London: Longmans, Green, 1900

In 1899 Churchill stood unsuccessfully for election to Parliament as the Conservative (Tory) Party candidate from Oldham in Lancashire. After the Boer War began later that year, he traveled to South Africa as a war correspondent for the Morning Post. The telegraphic reports he sent to that London newspaper became the basis for two books published in 1900, London to Ladysmith via Pretoria and Ian Hamilton’s March. The first describes Churchill’s escape from a Boer prison camp, shown in the diagram, while the latter includes his participation in liberating his former fellow prisoners.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

Mr. Brodrick’s Army
London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1903

For Free Trade: A Collection of Speeches delivered at Manchester or in the House of Commons during the Fiscal Controversy Preceding the Late General Election
London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1906
Bound with seven pamphlets by other writers

Three volumes of Churchill’s political speeches were published between 1903 and 1909. In those collected in Mr. Brodrick’s Army he summarized his arguments against the plan of Secretary of State for War, St. John Brodrick, to enlarge the army. In 1904 Churchill daringly abandoned the Tories for the Liberal Party, with whom he remained affiliated for two decades. His collected campaign speeches for the general election of 1906, the first in which he campaigned as a Liberal, explain his commitment to free trade. Mr. Brodrick’s Army and For Free Trade are two of the most rare of Churchill’s publications.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

My African Journey
London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908
Two copies shown

In 1907, while he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Churchill undertook a tour of East Africa, a tour which combined big-game hunting with official engagements. The Strand magazine commissioned him to write articles about it, which paid him more than the cost of the expedition. My African Journey is an enlarged version of the Strand articles. Churchill described it as “a continuous narrative of the lighter side of what was to me a very delightful and inspiring journey.”
Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

*Liberalism and the Social Problem*
London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909
Two copies

Autograph letter signed, to David Lloyd George
April 8, 1910

*Liberalism and the Social Problem* is a collection of twenty-one speeches Churchill made on social policy over a three-year period. One of the copies shown is inscribed by Churchill to H.J. Tennant, Secretary of the Board of Trade during Churchill’s tenure as President (1908–February 1910), and later Secretary of State for Scotland.

Churchill’s letter to Lloyd George (1863–1945), Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1908 to 1914, illustrates their joint effort to dismantle the privileges of the House of Lords. The John Morley to whom Churchill refers (whose inscribed copy of *The Malakand Field Force* is shown earlier in this exhibition) also played an important role in the reform of the House of Lords.

Erez Israel: The Jewish National Fund Year-Book 5682–1922
Edited by Israel Cohen
Foreword by Winston S. Churchill
London: W. Speaight and Sons, 1922

In 1921–1922, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Churchill had to deal with two hot spots which continue to vex world peace today: Ireland and the Middle East. His foreword to the Jewish National Fund Yearbook for 1922 is extracted from a speech he gave in the House of Commons on June 14, 1921, following a March visit to Palestine. He predicted that a continuous stream of Jewish immigrants into Palestine would bring prosperity to all the inhabitants of the region, without negatively affecting any of them.

Nevil Macready, 1862–1946
Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965
David Lloyd George, 1863–1945

*The Drama of Eight Days. June 22nd to June 29th, 1922. How War Was Waged on Ireland with An Economy of English Lives*
As related by General Sir Nevil Macready, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George
New York: American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, [1922]

Churchill, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, is one of the villains in this rare pamphlet published by the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic. Fearful that he would be too easy a target for the next Catholic Republican bullet, he did not sleep in his bedroom on the night of June 22, 1922, following the assassination in London of a staunch Irish Protestant.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

*The World Crisis*
London: Thornton Butterworth, 1923–1931
Three of six volumes

As First Lord of the Admiralty from 1911, Churchill readied the British navy for a war with Germany which he anticipated. In 1915 he proposed that Britain attack the Turkish-controlled Dardanelles and Gallipoli Peninsula. Had this attack succeeded, it would have enabled aid to reach Russia, the United Kingdom’s ally, via the Black Sea; but the campaign proved disastrous, and Churchill resigned from the Admiralty.

A 1917 government commission reported that Churchill bore no more blame for the misadventure than his colleagues. Between 1922 and 1924, nonetheless, he lost three elections to Parliament.

While in and out of office over the next years, he wrote a six-volume autobiographical history of the war, *The World Crisis*. The Chapin Library’s set contains inscriptions by Churchill to Ian S. Hamilton, who helped lead the 1915 Gallipoli
landings but never blamed Churchill for their failure. Hamilton further personalized Volume 1 by recording a remark Churchill made:

Winston wrote this after dinner last night. When he got to the end of the “m” in Hamilton he made so long a pause (indicated in the tent [i.e. the upswing from the end of the “m” to the dot of the “i”] that I couldn’t think what was the matter. He then wound up saying – it isn’t fair to make a man tot up all the d—d wriggles in your name after dinner.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965, editor
The British Gazette
London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, May 5–13, 1926

When Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1924, he restored the gold standard. Among the unfortunate consequences of this policy were deflation, unemployment, and a miner’s strike which blossomed into the general strike of 1926. After the compositors of the British newspapers went out in support of the miners, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin asked Churchill to supervise publication of a daily government newspaper. Between May 5 and May 13, 1926, eight issues of The British Gazette appeared.

Churchill wrote the leading (though unsigned) article on the front page of the first issue. It explained the need for a government newspaper: “Nearly all the newspapers have been silenced by violent concerted action. And this great nation, on the whole the strongest community which civilization can show, is for the moment . . . dependent only on the rumours which are carried from place to place.” He also warned that the strike’s success would mean the destruction of the representative institutions underlying British democratic freedom.

The final edition of the Gazette announced the end of the strike (“Surrender received by Premier in Downing Street”). The following year Churchill, reflecting on this episode of his career, wrote in a letter: “I shall always look back to that extraordinary ten days. They form one of the most vivid experiences of my somewhat variegated life. . . .”

Library purchase

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965
My Early Life: A Roving Commission
London: Thornton Butterworth, 1930

Thoughts and Adventures
London: Thornton Butterworth, 1932

In 1924 Churchill rejoined the Conservative Party. After the Conservatives lost the 1929 election, he kept his seat in Parliament but held no Cabinet position until 1939. He now spent much time painting (a hobby he took up while nursing the wounds of his Gallipoli disgrace) and writing. The autobiography of his life from birth through his first years in Parliament dates from this period. The speech presenting Churchill the 1953 Nobel Prize for Literature calls My Early Life: A Roving Commission “one of the world’s most entertaining adventure stories.” This copy is inscribed by the author to Michael Graham Dixon.

In Thoughts and Adventures, a collection of Churchill’s essays, the subjects range from his career and hobbies, to politics in general and his musings on the future, to an anomalous essay on Moses. Having published his first five books by the time he was twenty-five, Churchill bragged that his literary output equaled that of the author of the Pentateuch!
Following Hitler’s rise to power in 1933, the growing German threat alarmed Churchill. In 1935 Churchill published a famous essay on Hitler, by then Führer, in the *Strand* magazine; in 1937 it was printed also in his *Great Contemporaries*, with profiles of other eminent political, military, and literary figures, such as T.E. Lawrence and George Bernard Shaw.

Churchill’s concluding paragraph reveals his unease about Germany’s intentions: “Only time can show, but, meanwhile, the great wheels revolve; the rifles, the cannon, the tanks, the shot and shell, the air-bombs, the poison gas cylinders, the aeroplanes, the submarines, and now the beginnings of a fleet flow in ever-broadening streams from the already largely war-mobilized arsenals and factories of Germany.”

*Great Contemporaries (1937)*

*lent by Wayne Hammond*

Churchill had a complicated relationship with his father, Lord Randolph Churchill (1849–1895), as well as with his son, Randolph (1911–1968). He once complained to the father of one of his young, industrious research assistants: “My son is very idle, and profits little by the life of the University.” In 1938 Churchill agreed to let his son compile a collection of his speeches on foreign affairs and national defense, which resulted in this volume. Just as Winston wrote an admirable biography of Lord Randolph Churchill (published 1906), his son also published (in 1966–1967) a definitive, two-volume biography of Churchill, covering the period 1874 to 1914.

One of these volumes is inscribed by Winston Churchill to Sylvia Henley, cousin of his wife Clementine. The other is inscribed by Churchill to M. Philips Price.

In a May 1939 piece, reprinted in *Step by Step*, a collection of eighty-two of his newspaper articles, Churchill predicted that Hitler would next attack Poland. At the end of *Step by Step*, which was published only a few months before Britain declared war on Nazi Germany, Churchill included an “epilogue”:

> Here then, in an hour when all is uncertain, but not uncheered by hope and resolve, this tale stops.

> Great Britain stands in the midst, and even at the head of a great and growing company of states and nations, ready to confront and to endure what may befall. The shock may be sudden, or the strain may be long-drawn: but who can doubt that all will come right if we persevere to the end.

One of the copies of this book in the John C. Walsh gift was inscribed by Churchill in June 1939 to his sister-in-law, Nellie Hozier Romilly, and her husband, Colonel Bertram Romilly.
**Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965**

*Speech by the Prime Minister the Right Honourable Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, August 20th, 1940*

London: Ministry of Information, 1940

On May 10, 1940, Churchill became Prime Minister of Great Britain. Speaking in Parliament on August 20, 1940, during the most dangerous period of the Battle of Britain, Churchill referred for the first time to the fighter-pilots of the Royal Air Force as “The Few.” He also compared the cooperation among Great Britain, the United States, and Canada to the powerful flow of the Mississippi River: “Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.”

**Franz Rose**

*Das ist Churchill*

München: J.F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1940

**Martin Pase (i.e. Ernst Pasemann)**

*Churchills Reden und Taten im Schweinwerfer der Presse und Karikatu*

Leipzig: Lühe-Verlag, 1941

“Churchill’s Charge Is Disgraceful – Attlee”

*Sunday Pictorial*, July 1, 1945

Not surprisingly, Churchill was the subject of negative Nazi propaganda during World War II. *Churchills Reden und Taten (Churchill’s Speeches and Deeds)* is a collection of unfavorable Churchill caricatures. In *Das ist Churchill (This Is Churchill)* the antisemitic author Franz Rose attacked Churchill’s career from 1914 through 1939. The blazing headline in the *Sunday Pictorial* illustrates the negative criticism Churchill also received at home – no less than any prominent politician may expect from supporters of an opposing party – in this case from a pro-Labour Party London tabloid.

**Purchased on the W. Edward Archer Fund**

**Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965**

Speech to the Conservative Party Conference, March 15, 1945

Typescript, blocked for delivery

“Here Is the Course We Steer”


In mid-March 1945 Churchill addressed the Conservative Party Conference in London. The typescript of his speech is organized so as to guide Churchill in the cadences of his delivery. This was subsequently published in pamphlet form under the title “Here Is the Course We Steer.” Looking ahead to a successful outcome of the war “before the summer ends, or even sooner,” Churchill outlines the postwar responsibilities of the party, emphasizing jobs, agriculture, and export trade.

**Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965**

Typed letter signed, to Sir Archibald Weigall February 26, 1941

Churchill’s letter to Sir Archibald Weigall, former Governor of South Australia, accepting the presidency of the Conservative and Unionist Films Association, was written only hours after he learned of an attack on a convoy. He worried that more such disasters would spell “the end of us.”
Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

“Le Châtiment du Kaiser”
*France-Orient: La revue française libre des Français d’Orient* (Delhi), vol. 2, no. 12, Avril 1942

Souvenir photo album of Churchill’s visit to Laxou, near Nancy, France, on August 12, 1950

Photographs by René Colin

Among other articles appearing in this 1942 Free French journal were two by General Charles de Gaulle and one by Churchill, entitled “Le Châtiment du Kaiser” (“The Kaiser’s Punishment: Why Did We Not Hang Him?”). According to an introductory note, by this time journals around the world were wondering what Hitler’s punishment would be following an Allied victory.

The unpublished photos by René Colin in the album at right commemorate Churchill’s summer 1950 visit to France. At the town of Laxou, “where numerous patriots were shot by the Germans,” Churchill laid a wreath of flowers at the Monument of the Resistance.

Bernard L. Montgomery, 1887–1976

*Ten Chapters, 1942 to 1945*
London: Hutchinson, 1946

In 1946 Field-Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, commander of the British 8th Army in Africa and Europe, had a facsimile of his autograph book published. In his foreword “Monty” wrote: “It has been a long journey: from Alamein to the Baltic Sea. At various stages in that journey the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, wrote a page in my autograph book and recorded his impressions: in his own handwriting.” Churchill’s final comment, dated May 24, 1945, begins:

> At last the goal is reached. The terrible enemy has unconditionally surrendered. In loyal accord with our splendid American Ally full &

friendly contact has been made with the Russians advancing from the East.

> The 21st Group of armies, wheeling & striking to the North had the honour of liberating Holland & Denmark & of receiving & gathering as captives in the space of three or four days upwards of two millions of the once-renowned German Army.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

*The Second World War*
Two of six volumes

In the late 1940s, assisted by research assistants and secretaries, Churchill began to prepare the first fully-documented history of the war. *The Second World War* appeared in six volumes between 1948 and 1954. These war memoirs, written in Churchill’s characteristically superb prose and still widely read after a half-century, offer unique insights into the exercise of leadership during stressful times.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

Typescript of Edinburgh speech, April 29, 1946

London: Conservative Central Office, 1946

Ready for change despite its appreciation for Churchill’s wartime leadership, the country voted for Labour in the next elections. Until 1951 Churchill was leader of the Conservative opposition. Speaking to the Scottish Unionist Rally in Edinburgh in late April 1946, he warned that no nation was less suited “to the application of the Socialist system,” and that the present was no time “for such an experiment.” Comparing
the typescript of Churchill's speech with the pamphlet published after its delivery is to compare poetry and prose.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

*Speech at the Mass Meeting, Winter Gardens, Blackpool, on Saturday, 5th October, 1946*
London: Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1946

Churchill’s attack on Labour government policies continued in his address to the Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool in October 1946. Defending his belief in a “property-owning democracy,” he reminded his audience that not only Labour believed in safeguards against misfortune: “It is 38 years ago since I introduced the first Unemployment Insurance scheme…”

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

*“The People’s Peril – and the Way Out”: A Speech in the House of Commons on March 12th, 1947*
London: Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1947

Corrected galleys of *Mr. Churchill’s Speech to the Scottish Unionist Association, 16th May, 1947*

London: Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1947

Churchill also spoke out in the House of Commons about the Labour government’s deficiencies. His accusations in “The People’s Peril – and the Way Out” sound astonishingly contemporary. Despite the fact that the Labour government polled “only 37 per cent. of the total electorate,” it had taken upon itself “to impose their particular ideological formulas and theories upon all the rest of their fellow countrymen, regardless of the peril in which we all stood” and has “spread class warfare throughout the land . . . and . . . divided this nation, in its hour of serious need, as it has never been divided.”

The opening paragraph of Churchill’s speech to the Scottish Unionist Association, shown here in galley proof with the author’s corrections, asserts that the “steady improvement in the strength of our Party throughout the United Kingdom” over the past year proves the validity of the maxim “Trust the people.” The speech was later published under that title.

“Local Tory Women to Hear Churchill in London”
London: Press Department, Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1948

“Mr. Churchill to Address 6,500 Tory Women”
London: Press Department, Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1948

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965

London: Conservative and Unionist Central Office, 1948

The title of this pamphlet comes from its final paragraph, in which Churchill exhorts his audience:

*The time has come – indeed it is overdue – when this country needs a new Parliament and a new approach to solve our national problems. The Conservative Party, if called on by the electors, will form a Government devoid of Party prejudices and working*
with single-minded purpose to restore our national prosperity and the true greatness of our country. Let all be ready when the hour strikes; let all work tirelessly till the hour strikes and thus render true service not to a Party but to the island home we love so well.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965
Typed letter with holograph insertions, to Lord Beaverbrook, June 23, 1949

By 1949 the decline of the British Empire was well under way. Churchill told a Conservative rally in Glasgow that he hoped the association that succeeded the empire would keep the title British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations: “In this title there is room for all and none need be repelled or slighted by its terms.” His letter to newspaper magnate Lord Beaverbrook (1879–1964) affirms this hope.

Winston S. Churchill, 1874–1965
A History of the English-Speaking Peoples
Two of four volumes

Following a stroke in 1953, while serving as Prime Minister, Churchill resumed work on a project that had been ready for publication on the eve of World War II. A History of the English-Speaking Peoples spans the centuries, from the Stone Age to modern times, and crosses the world, from Britain to the United States and wherever else English is spoken. It was Churchill’s last great work: he died on January 24, 1965.